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THE LOUISIANA BACKGROUND OF THE COLONIZATION OF TEXAS, 1763-1803

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By the Treaty of 1763 Spain secured possession of Louisiana; and, almost immediately, she was besieged by English, Irish, French, Dutch, German, and American colonizers who, anxious to secure lands, desired to introduce settlers into the rich but undeveloped region. This met with the hearty approval of Carlos III, who, contrary to the usual custom of Spanish sovereigns, was so eager to settle his new possessions that he permitted the entry of Anglo-Saxons, most of whom, of course, were Protestants. He intended, however, to have Irish priests instruct the new comers in the faith professed by the Spanish nation. The only condition imposed upon them was that they should take the oath of allegiance to Spain. In 1798 the natural distrust of the Spaniards for all foreigners began to assert itself and more stringent immigration laws were passed mainly for the purpose of keeping out the Americans and the English who were at war with Spain's ally, France. But before this change in policy took place many foreigners had settled in Louisiana and, in time, many of them became accustomed to the Spanish laws and institutions. Hence it was that, when Louisiana was sold to the United States in 1803, some of these immigrants, desiring to follow the Spanish flag, moved across the border into Texas where, being vassals of the king of Spain, they were welcomed by the authorities who wished, by their aid, to form a new barrier against the United States and to force the

Indians to keep the peace. The story of the movement into Texas will be given in a subsequent paper.

Immigration into Lower Louisiana, 1765-1768.—Among the first immigrants to arrive in Louisiana after the Treaty of 1763 had converted it into Spanish territory were a number of Acadians who, as early as 1755, had temporarily taken refuge in Maryland. Between January and May, 1765, about six hundred and fifty of these unfortunate people arrived at New Orleans and, later, were sent to form the settlements of Attakapas and Opelousas; while, in the spring of 1766, two hundred and sixteen others arrived and received permission to settle on both sides of the German Coast¹ as far up as Point Coupée. The reports which they made in regard to their new homes reached the ears of Henry Jerningham, an Englishman in Maryland. He at once opened up a correspondence with the governor of Louisiana and despatched an agent to New Orleans to make arrangements for the reception of a large number of English Catholics who were discontented because of their treatment by the Colonial government, and who, therefore, desired to follow their former neighbors and friends. This agent was kindly received and assisted in exploring the country as far north as the new trading post just established at St. Louis, since the governor believed that this movement would lead to the settlement of the country by a people hostile to the English government. He even believed that a "torrent" of immigration would flow in, not only from Maryland, but also from neighboring territories.² But a careful search of the *Archivo General de Indias* has failed to disclose any evidence of a general movement of English toward Louisiana. Indeed, everything seems to indicate that the plan was never carried out. Nevertheless, the correspondence and the report of the agent must have spread abroad information in regard to the advantages offered immigrants by Louisiana.

Beginning of Settlement in Upper Louisiana, 1767.—Spain was

¹The German coast embraced the present parishes of St. Charles and St. John. It was founded in 1723 by some two hundred and fifty Germans who had been sent to Law's concession in Arkansas and who were granted lands on the Mississippi as a compensation for their losses due to the failure of Law's financial schemes. Fortier. *History of Louisiana*, I, 70.

²Documents contributed by James A. Robertson, *The American Historical Review*, xvi, 319-327.

slow to grasp the opportunity offered her on the Upper Mississippi by the cession of Louisiana. Indeed, beyond permitting the establishment of the trading post at St. Louis, encouraging the exploration just mentioned, and allowing a number of French families to locate at St. Genevieve, she made no effort to hold that portion of the country until after 1767, when she established two forts at the mouth of the Missouri river to prevent the English from penetrating into the adjacent region westward, which abounded in valuable furbearing animals.³

Admission of Acadians, Canadians, Italians, Spaniards, and Germans, 1777-1783.—In 1777, the lieutenant-governor of Louisiana received instructions to offer aid, from a fund set apart for the increase of population, the development of commerce, and the cultivation of friendly relations with the Indians, to such Acadians as still lived among the English but who now desired to take refuge among the Spaniards. In reply, he promised to make every effort to attract the Acadians, and discussed the ease with which French Canadians, who were Catholics, could be induced to follow the example of certain of their countrymen who had recently come to St. Louis "to escape the direst poverty and the grossest oppression." The king approved this suggestion and also gave orders for the admission of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans. To ensure an enthusiastic response to this invitation, the lieutenant-governor offered to reputable immigrants, houses, lands, provisions, tools, etc., on condition that they take the oath of allegiance to the Spanish government. A few poor families, who had to be supported for a season, settled at Attakapas and Opelousas and a considerable number of Acadians came back from France, founded the new settlement of Feliciana and located near Plaquemines and at various other points in Lower Louisiana.⁴ In 1783, upon the proposal of Conde de Aranda, it was decided to secure in France Acadian families for the purpose of cultivating the soil

*Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I, xvii.

⁴Conde de Gálvez to Marqués de la Sonora, March 22, 1786, in Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Sto. Dom., 86-6-15, March 22, 1876; Miró to Marqués de Sonora, June 11, 1787, in A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-16, June 1, 1787, and Miró to Valdez, May 15, 1788, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-8, May 15, 1788-October 20, 1788. Transcripts of the University of Texas.

of Louisiana.⁵ However, because of the expense involved, only a few families were actually brought over.

All colonists were required to be Catholics since, as late as 1786, a royal order forbade the admission to Louisiana of any person who could not prove beyond a doubt that he was a Catholic. Even those professing this faith but who were unwilling to take the oath of allegiance or who could not prove good characters were to be excluded.⁶ In the meantime, however, the way had been paved for the entry of Englishmen and Americans.

Opening Wedge for the Entry of English and American Protestants, 1786.—By a royal order, dated April 5, 1786, the king granted temporary asylum in Louisiana to certain Americans and to such British royalists as had remained there after the peace of 1783, permitting them to locate wherever they might choose.⁷ As a result, a large number settled at Natchez, while fifty-nine other English and American families located in the vicinity.⁸ In the order providing for the protection of the English, the king announced that he had under consideration a plan for admitting other foreigners into the territory and for sending out Irish priests to convert such of them as were Protestants. Without awaiting he instructions—which the king declared were being drawn up—Diego Gardoquí, Minister from Spain to the United States, began to issue passports to foreign families who wished to share in the promised advantages.

Upon receiving an appeal for aid from New Orleans, after the disastrous fire of 1788, he sent one hundred and thirty persons from New York and Philadelphia. Among the number were four negroes and seventy-nine persons who were absolutely destitute. He paid their transportation expenses, but upon their arrival, the government was compelled to support them for a year and to furnish stock, tools, etc. Estevan Miró, who was governor of Louisiana at the time, objected to this step, claiming

⁵Morales to the King, June 30, 1797, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-7-17, May 8, 1797-June 9, 1799.

⁶Miró to Marqués de Sonora, June 28, 1786, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-15, June 28, 1786.

⁷Zepédes to Marqués de Sonora, August 12, 1786, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-15, August 12, 1786.

⁸Zepédes to Las Casas, June 20, 1790, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-13, June 20, 1790-August 14, 1790, and Miró to Marqués de Sonora, February 1, 1787, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., February 1, 1787.

that the government had been able to contract for families who were able to sustain themselves and who asked only for lands. He feared that Gardoquí's procedure would inspire thousands of indigent persons in Ohio and Kentucky to move into Spanish territory.⁹ Nevertheless, he felt compelled to receive all applicants, even non-Catholics, but stipulated that in future they should pay their own transportation and consider themselves as temporary settlers until the king should fix the conditions under which they were to be received as vassals.¹⁰ Many of these immigrants were men of means, and, disliking this uncertainty of a temporary status, immediately applied for citizenship; while a number of colonizers, several of whom were Irish, offered their services in filling the country with settlers.

Irish Colonizers, 1787-1789.—Among these colonizers was Bryan Brown or Bruin, a Virginian, who had spent some time in New Orleans. In 1787 he asked to be allowed to bring in twelve wealthy Irish families. He declared that the applicants in question desired to immigrate because they were Catholics and because they had heard of the liberal laws and beneficent government in Louisiana. He enquired particularly as to the amount of land that could be secured at Baton Rouge. Miró favored the plan, especially because the applicants offered to bring at their own expense their household goods, their slaves, and such tools as might be necessary for clearing and cultivating plantations. This was in line with the condition for admission imposed by the supreme government which stipulated that no foreigner could be received who did not, of his own free will, present himself and swear allegiance to the king. To such persons lands were to be granted in proportion to the number in the family. No settler was to be molested on account of his religion, but Catholics alone were to be allowed public worship. The immigrants were to be required to bear arms in defense of the province only in case of invasion by an enemy. No inducements were to be offered save lands, protection, and kind treatment. They might bring with them property of any kind, but in case they later exported

⁹Miró to Váldez, January 8, 1788, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-8, January 8, 1788; Miró to Gardoquí, September 30, and Miró to Váldez, October 10, 1788, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-8, May 15, 1788-October 20, 1788.

¹⁰Zepédes to Las Casas, June 20, 1790, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-18, June 20, 1790-August 14, 1790.

it they were to pay a duty of 5 per cent.¹¹ Miró liked the idea of economizing the public funds and believed that the possession of property would ensure good behavior as it was usually the people who had nothing to lose who stirred up trouble. He, therefore, gave permission for the settlement of the families in question at the points indicated and named a plot twenty by forty *arpents*¹² as the amount to be distributed to each family, promising an addition of a similar amount as soon as the first plot had been cleared and cultivated. He permitted them to introduce their stock, etc., upon the payment of the required six per cent, but suggested that this be remitted in the future so that immigration might be stimulated. However, he issued a warning against the introduction of any goods for subsequent sale and objected particularly to sugar and brandy, since they were contraband goods. It is not possible to ascertain whether or not any of these applicants actually entered, but the Irish continued to be interested in the settlement of Louisiana.

Later in the same year, William Fitzgerald, who had secured recommendations from Gardoquí, was allowed an advance of 1000 *pesos* for the payment of the transportation of thirty families who desired to come to Louisiana from New York. He likewise expected the government to reward him for his services. The intendant of Louisiana, who at this time had charge of colonization, recommended that these requests be granted, lest the petitioner might direct his settlers to Ohio.¹³ But no evidence has been found concerning the execution of their plan.

Among other Irishmen interested in colonizing Louisiana may be named William Butler. Having secured a recommendation from Gardoquí, he asked to be allowed to introduce forty-six families from the extreme eastern portion of the United States, the government paying for their transportation. Miró refused this because immigrants could be secured on better terms. Thereupon, Butler signified his willingness to introduce one hundred and fifty-four persons of the original number who were willing to pay their own expenses. It is probable that a considerable

¹¹Martin, *History of Louisiana*, 253-254.

¹²According to Violette "The *arpent* was used for both surface and linear measurement among the French. As a unit of surface measurement, it varied from 5-6 to 7-8 of an English acre." *History of Missouri*, p. 58.

¹³Navarro to Váldez, October 10, 1787, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 87-1-21.

number came, since those responding were to be allowed to introduce their goods free of duty.¹⁴

Another Irishman, Augustin Macarty, who had retired from the French army, desired to share in the commercial advantages of the decree of January 22, 1782, and to "aid in the defense of Louisiana." He, therefore, offered his help in inducing two or three thousand discontented Irish Catholics, located at various points in the United States, to settle in that province. He asked that his colonists be given the same privileges as those granted the Acadians and that Gardoqui be instructed to furnish money and vessels for their transportation. He also requested that a tract of land be given each head of a family and that the tools needed for clearing and cultivating the ground be furnished. Miró was delighted with the proposition, since he favored the old plan of admitting Catholics only. He believed, too, that the proposed settlers would be able to defend the province and he had no fear of receiving those who were willing to renounce their allegiance to the United States.¹⁵ It is impossible, from the records available, to estimate the number of immigrants introduced by any one or even by all the Irishmen interested in the question at this time, since only incomplete census returns can be found. Martin declares¹⁶ that few or no settlers immigrated from Ireland, but this does not, of course, preclude the possibility of a heavy Irish immigration from the United States. At any rate, Irish names occur frequently on the lists examined. In the meantime, however, other colonizers, and that, too, of a different nationality presented themselves.

French Colonizers, D'Arges, 1787.—Pierre Wouves D'Arges, who believed that it would be exceedingly easy to induce a large number of Kentuckians to move to Louisiana, presented himself in August, 1787, and secured permission to introduce 1582 families on condition that they should receive lands and be allowed to worship according to their own beliefs.¹⁷ However, because of his

¹⁴Butler to Miró, June 28, 1789, and Miró to Váldez, July 31, 1789, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-17, June 28, 1789-July 31, 1789.

¹⁵Miró to Marqués de Sonora, August 15, 1789, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-16, August 14-16, 1789.

¹⁶*History of Louisiana*, 254.

¹⁷Miró to Váldez, October 20, 1788, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-8, May 15, 1788-October 20, 1788, and Miró to Váldez, April 11, 1789, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-17, October 14, 1787-April 11, 1789.

insistence upon free commerce between Kentucky and Louisiana—a concession which seemed implied in his contract—he incurred the displeasure of Gardoquí, who wished all efforts confined to the introduction of families, of Miró, who feared the results of religious toleration, and of Wilkinson, who had commercial and colonization schemes of his own.¹⁸ Miró even tried to persuade D'Arges that he could serve Spain best by assuming command of a post to be established at the mouth of the Ohio river, so that he might be able the better to induce immigration from *Illinois*, since the mere publication of the order granting a concession to Wilkinson would attract a great number of settlers from Kentucky.¹⁹ As a result, D'Arges was unable to accomplish any decisive results, although it is quite possible that some families came in through his influence.²⁰ As he was out-generated by Wilkinson, an examination of the latter's colonization plans for Louisiana are necessary. However, another American preceded him in the field and demands prior consideration.

American Colonizers, Morgan and Wilkinson, 1788.—In September, 1788, Gardoquí arranged with Colonel George Morgan, of New Jersey, to select a location on the west bank of the Mississippi suitable for a colony of sober, industrious farmers and mechanics. Morgan induced several gentlemen farmers, traders, workmen, etc., to aid him in exploring the country and in convincing the people of the United States of the advantages to be secured by a transfer to Spanish territory. A number of prominent French royalists of Illinois promised to join the colony with their families as soon as it should be established. Morgan, who had served as United States Indian agent, wisely secured the good will of the red men by paying the expenses of a delegation which accompanied him. Along the circuitous route which he traveled, he secured promises from numerous Germans of Pennsylvania—many of whom were Catholics—to join his colony when established, while ten of them at once joined the exploring party. Morgan continued his journey through Kentucky, and, in spite of Wilkin-

¹⁸Miró to D'Arges, August 13, 1788, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-8, August 12-21, 1788.

¹⁹Miró to D'Arges, March 4, 1789, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-17, March 4-15, 1789.

²⁰Miró to Váldez, January 8, 1788, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-8, January 8, 1788.

son's commercial schemes and of the opposition of British agents, he secured many enthusiastic followers by promising them religious freedom and commercial advantages such as they had never dreamed of before. After examining the country, he chose a point of land on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite the mouth of the Ohio as "the most important spot in his Majesty's North American dominions both in a military and a commercial view." He suggested that this place be made an *entre-pôt* for the trade of Kentucky and all the future American settlements of the Ohio, thus rendering the navigation of the Mississippi perfectly unnecessary or indifferent to the United States. He predicted that the new subjects would soon be sufficient in number and possess enough capital to transact all the business of the country, and suggested that trial by jury and legislation on purely local matters be allowed, subject, of course, to the approval of the king. Without waiting for his recommendations to be acted upon, he established the town of New Madrid and laid out tracts of three hundred and twenty acres for three hundred and fifty families. To those with him and to other friends who were expected to join him, he actually granted lands and promised donations to still others who should make immediate settlement. They were required to take the oath of allegiance and to promise to pay the sum of forty-eight Mexican *pesos* with interest on deferred payments. He believed that a shiftless class of settlers would enter if lands were granted absolutely free. He also wrote to the inhabitants of Fort Pitt inviting them to join him. He feared that Miró's extreme anxiety to be considered "the first proposer and promoter of the settlements opposite the mouth of the Ohio," his opposition to religious toleration, and his subservience to Wilkinson would retard the execution of the plans just described.²¹ And true to expectations, Miró did oppose a part of Morgan's plans. He objected to the sale of the lands and defended the schedule upon which the king had made free grants. This provided for a minimum grant of twenty-four *arpents* to families composed of two or three workmen; four hundred *arpents* to families containing between three and ten workmen; 600 *arpents* to families of ten to fifteen workmen; and 800 *arpents* to families of more than fifteen workmen. Wilkinson did all in his power to handicap Morgan's

²¹Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I, 286-309.

work, declaring the plan dangerous and unbefitting the crown. Nevertheless, Miró finally approved the plan for selling to families from Fort Pitt three hundred and twenty acres each, and recommended an increase in case the grantee were capable of bringing negroes or of hiring help. He promised not to interfere in matters of religion but insisted that Catholics alone hold public worship. To strengthen the Catholics he proposed to establish a number of forts and churches. He permitted immigrants to bring into the country free of duty goods bought with the proceeds of the sale of their property in the United States. He required them to take the oath of allegiance and bind themselves to bear arms in defense of the crown. He rejected the recommendation for trial by jury and legislation in local matters, but confirmed the grants of three hundred and twenty acres already made.²² In spite of fair promises, Miró managed to embarrass Morgan by placing a military commandant of his own choosing at New Madrid and granting to Wilkinson permission to encourage the entry of such Kentucky families as desired to immigrate to Spanish Dominions with permission to introduce their goods free of duty while all others were to be required to pay a duty of 15 per cent. Wilkinson's immigrants, likewise, were to be undisturbed in their private worship, and to be given free lands. Miró promised himself that, as a result of these concessions, both banks of the Mississippi would soon be settled.²³ Because of these handicaps Morgan failed to accomplish any striking results; but Houck pays tribute to his efforts by declaring that he was "the first person to set in motion the stream of American immigration into Spanish Dominions." His success was attributed to the gift of lands and exemption from taxation. As a result, it was but a few years until "the American population almost equaled the French population."²⁴

Wilkinson's Plans, 1788.—When Wilkinson first visited Louisiana, he discovered that colonization projects occupied the mind of Gardoquí and he determined to make use of this knowledge for his own "personal emolument" or for the "interest of his fellow

²²Morgan to Miró, May 23 and 24, 1789, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-17, September 1, 1788-June 12, 1789, and McCully, Dodge, and others to Miró, April 14, 1789, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-17, October 4, 1788-May 20, 1789.

²³Miró to D'Arges, March 4, 1789, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-17, March 4-15, 1789.

²⁴Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I, xxi.

citizens." With this in mind, he asked Gardoquí for 6000 acres of land and presented to the government a colonization plan whose main outlines can be gathered from the decision thereon. It provided that all Kentuckians desiring to settle in Spanish territory should be received whether coming of their own initiative or upon the solicitation of Wilkinson. They were to be required to bring their families, property, and stock and were to be allowed the enjoyment of whatever religious faith they might profess, though not public observance of it, for all churches had to be Catholic churches, ministered to by Irish clergy. All property introduced was to be exempt from duty. This, of course, favored Wilkinson to the detriment of D'Arges. But instructions were given that D'Arges should not be abandoned and Miró was instructed to wean him from the idea of bringing immigrants by the assurance that the government would reward him as his conduct might warrant.²⁵

In September, 1789, Wilkinson advised Miró to abandon for the present the idea of annexing Kentucky, but at the same time to encourage, on the one hand Kentuckians and other Westerners to immigrate to Louisiana, for the purpose of building up a strong pro-Spanish party among the Americans, and, on the other hand, to stimulate the secession of the West from the United States. The West, once independent of the United States, would, he said, ally itself with Spain to the exclusion of any other power. This arrangement, he declared, would be advantageous to Spain since the Americans of the West, under the control of Spain, would serve as a barrier against the advance of Great Britain and of the United States. He recommended that emigration be given the preference over all other plans for detaching the West because it could be carried on without peril to individuals and without prejudice to the relations of Spain and the United States. He believed that, if Louisiana became populous, the misgivings excited by the settlements on the Ohio would disappear and the Spanish government would then be able to vary its policy as it might see fit. He thought that the existing regulations for the admission of immigrants were very favorable but wished them modified to meet the approval of prominent men of Virginia, who might desire as much as 3000 acres because they owned anywhere from 100 to 300 slaves

²⁵Decision of the Council of State on Wilkinson's First Memorial, William R. Shepherd (contributor), *American Historical Review*, IX, 749-750.

and had been accustomed to large grants since the first settlements of North America. He insisted that no person should be received who did not bring with him visible property and give ample evidence of good character. He wished each immigrant to be compelled to take the oath of allegiance and to be left free in regard to his private religious beliefs.²⁶ As Wilkinson was more intent upon his commercial and separation schemes than upon immigration, he could not have introduced any large number of settlers. Nevertheless, he had been able to handicap D'Arges and Morgan who, soon becoming discouraged, abandoned the field to a colonizer of still another nation.

Pennsylvania Dutch Colonizer, Paulus, 1788.—Upon the suggestion of Morgan and Gardoquí, Pedro Paulus, an obscure innkeeper of Philadelphia, and a member of the militia of Pennsylvania, offered to bring in 3000 Dutch and German families from the region lying to the north of Kentucky. He did so believing that the government would reimburse him for his labors by a gift of lands, pay the transportation expenses of such immigrants as he might secure, and grant each of them 600 *arpents* of land. In addition, he asked that his settlers be granted religious toleration, be furnished an English and German speaking priest, be permitted to exercise local self-government, be exempt from military service save in defense of the country, and be allowed to plant tobacco, establish manufacturies, and export flour.²⁷ As in Morgan's case, Miró opposed the granting of large quantities of land to a proprietor, on the grounds that the system had been unsuccessful in the United States and that the granting of virtual independence would lead the settlers to revolt from the Spanish Dominions. However, he consented to the introduction of one thousand families who were to be given lands. Paulus, himself, was to be rewarded by the bestowal of military rank. He accepted these conditions, but whether or not he ever brought more than the thirty-four persons who accompanied him to Louisiana at the time he presented his proposal can not be determined. Since he held a commission from "2000 persons who were very anxious to

²⁶*Ibid.*, 751-764.

²⁷Petition of Paulus, December 12, 1788, and Miró to Váldez, March 15, 1789, A G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-17, December 8, 1788-March 6, 1789.

immigrate," it is quite possible that he introduced a much larger number.

Prussian Colonizer, 1788, Baron von Steuben.—But not all those favored by Gardoquí were able to secure from superior authorities the necessary approval of their colonization plans. According to Fortier, Gardoquí "accepted the proposition of the Baron de Steuben to settle on the banks of the Mississippi and form a colony of persons who had lately been in the army," but the Spanish government refused its approval.²⁸ From the detailed information given by Frederick Kapp, Steuben's biographer, a full account is secured. In 1788, Baron von Steuben, who had rendered such valiant service to the United States in the achievement of independence, applied to Gardoquí for permission "to plant a colony within the Dominions of the king of Spain, on the Mississippi, partly agricultural, partly military, in order to secure the King of Spain against an invasion of his neighbors, and to grant to the American settlers on the western Alleghanies a free outlet for their produce." Kapp summarizes the plan as follows:

1st. Baron Steuben engages to plant a colony of farmers and artificers, not exceeding in number of four thousand two hundred persons, within the Spanish province of Louisiana.

2d. For this purpose a concession of two hundred thousand acres of land, in such place as, in military view and relation to the principles of the project may be hereafter agreed upon, is made to the said Baron Steuben and his associates.

3d. As a further encouragement the Spanish government allows to each person, a farmer or artificer, brought to locate himself in good faith within the said tract, the sum of one hundred Spanish dollars as a bounty.

4th. Baron Steuben and his associates will, to every such settler, make conveyance in fee of two hundred and thirty acres of good and arable land within the concession aforesaid, free of all expenses such as may arise upon the writing of the deed.

5th. The settlers from the said tract will be drawn from the United States, or other foreign countries, and no person now a Spanish subject will be taken from his present settlement to make a part of this.

6th. On the part of the government it will be agreed that the inhabitants of this tract be allowed to possess and exercise such mode of religious worship as they may think proper, and that no

²⁸Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, II, 128.

penalty, forfeiture, disqualification, etc., be incurred by any difference in faith or practice from those established within his Catholic Majesty's dominions.

7th. The laws of the United States relative to the tenure, transfer or descent of property will be granted to the inhabitants of the said tract, and they will be allowed to institute such process, offices and courts touching these subjects as may be proper and necessary; provided only, that this will be done at their expense and without charge to the government; and provided further, that in all cases when the parties in suit on these subjects signify their consent and desire to have decision according to the Spanish laws, it will be granted to them.

8th. In all other respects the said subjects will be entirely, and without qualification, subject to the Spanish laws and usages. This part of the colony will be formed into a militia and liable to military service within the province when any exigency of government may require it.

9th. In addition to this colony the baron will engage to raise a corps of eight hundred men to be formed into four batallions, three of musketry, and one of riflemen. This corps will in all respects be subject to the discipline and service of his Catholic Majesty's troops, save only that in questions of property and religion, the privileges granted to the other part of the colony will be extended to this also.

10th. The power of nominating all officers of the regular corps will be exclusively within the general thereof, and when approved by the king, commissions will be issued to them accordingly, and vacancies supplied in the same manner.

11th. The same bounty will be given to the soldiers as to the farmers and artificers.

12th. Such colonists and recruits as may be engaged in Germany, will be paid and provided at the king's expense, from the day of their enlistments or engagements respectively, and for the purpose of safe and easy transportation, it will be agreed between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, that they be allowed a free and unmolested passage from St. Esprit in France to Carthageana in Spain, where they are to embark in royal vessels for New Orleans in Louisiana.

Kapp continues:

Steuben presented this plan to Diego Gardoquí, who dispatched it to Madrid; but it does not appear that the court engaged in any negotiations about it. Its rejection is too natural when we consider the absolute form of government in Spain. It could not suit them, that one of their colonies should be more free than the rest, and if not the thorough appreciation of the case, at least

the instinct of self-preservation taught the Spanish ministry, that admitting American laws even on a small scale, would by and by have opened and subjected the entire colony to the American pioneers, as has been subsequently shown in the instance of Texas.

It is, nevertheless, interesting to examine the motives of Steuben's plan. They show us the statesman and soldier who anticipates the future and tries to found a building on materials loose in themselves, but grand in the hands of a political talent, the execution of which was only delayed and reserved to the succeeding generation. It is at the same time gratifying to observe that Steuben understood perfectly well the secret of the growth of this rising American empire in the self-government of the commonwealth; a principle more antagonistic to the prerogative of the Spanish autocrat could not be found.

As in the following year Steuben's prospects cleared up and the favorable settlement of his claims became certain, he gave up the idea of removing to the far West, and devoted his whole attention to the cultivation of his own lands in Oneida County.²⁹

After the failure of this plan, several years passed before other colonizers appeared.

French Colonizers, Tardiveau, Maison Rouge, Delassus, Dublanc, 1792-1795.—In 1792, Bartholomew Tardiveau, who for fifteen years had lived in the United States, laid before the Spanish government his plans for establishing a numerous population on the west bank of the Mississippi as a means of developing the country, opposing the rapid expansion of the Americans in the West, and of erecting "a barrier between this bold people and the Spanish possessions," especially in Missouri and New Mexico. He suggested that a large part of the necessary men could be secured in the United States. However, he advised that only a limited number of this class of immigrants be received as it was essential to the preservation of the Spanish Dominions of America to keep them in the minority because of their inventive genius and their tendency to assume the reins of government. He drew attention to the fact that conditions in France and in the Low Countries presented the most favorable opportunity for procuring a sufficient number of settlers from that region to erect an effective barrier against the United States. He declared that certain French emigrants who had left their native country because of political conditions there, who had later settled on the Ohio, and who were con-

²⁹Kapp, *Life of William Frederick von Steuben*, 687-689.

stantly in danger of Indian attacks and displeased at "the innumerable snares and rogueries of which they had been the victims from the moment when they struck America" would adopt with enthusiasm "the idea of settling near the Illinois river." He reported that he had received a communication from a friend who was acting upon the instruction of the French Company, asking if he could arrange for the reception of these colonists and for those who were to come from Europe. They desired lands and were willing to pay for them. The leaders, likewise, proposed to pay their own expenses and to advance money for such families as needed assistance. Tardiveau proposed to go to France, *via* New Orleans and Philadelphia, for the purpose of arranging all necessary details. He expected also to visit Savoy, the Swiss Cantons, Germany, Flanders, Holland, and, finally, "all countries where Frenchmen were found assembled." He engaged to secure those who by their condition, fortune, standing, and influence, were capable of contributing to the attainment of the proposed plan. He estimated the number who might be obtained at between two and three hundred thousand, unless they should be forced to take up their residence in the United States because of the failure of the Spaniards to push the proposed plan. He asked that the expense of this voyage be paid and that he be given certain commercial concessions. In his final recommendation he suggested that the matter be kept a secret until everything was ready for the execution of the plan.³⁰ But due to a new revolution in France, Tardiveau was compelled to change his plans and to make an agreement with Duhault Delassus and Pedro Audrain by which they bound themselves to establish flour mills near St. Genevieve and to introduce one hundred families from Gallipolis. This new settlement was to be given the name of Nueva Bourbon as a compliment to royalists and as a warning to those who had followed the fortunes of the revolutionary party. In regard to this plan, Baron de Carondelet, the new governor of Louisiana, who was particularly partial to the French, said:

The importance of the matter, the necessity for speedy decision, the numberless advantages which it represents, the well known character of the commissioners, their ability and fortunes, the im-

³⁰Tardiveau to Aranda, July 17, 1792, Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, 359-368.

possibility of consulting the captain-general about it, and the absence of any risk resulting to the royal treasury—these seemed to me sufficient reasons for concluding the transaction, in the manner which is made clear in the contract. M. Audrain having set out on the 22nd. for Philadelphia from which city he will go to collect the families from Gallipolis and bring them down by way of the Ohio to Nueva Madrid, Messrs. Lassus and Tardiveau returned up the Mississippi in order to wait for those people and conduct them to the new settlement. It is evident that this scattered seed will produce a hundred fold for the state. From the brief relation which accompanies this . . . , in behalf of the inhabitants of Gallipolis, it is evident that they are persons of education and good standing, and desirable [as colonists]. The poor who remain among them will follow the leading families, who will advance the necessary funds for their first settlement. The prosperity and tranquility which they all enjoy under the mild government of España; their relation with all the principal emigrants from France; the publicity which the removal of all these people from Gallipolis to Spanish territory can not fail to occasion; the certainty that they will find immediate market for their wheat, by means of the contract which has been made with Messrs. Lassus, Audrain, and Tardiveau; the interest which these gentlemen (who now are in possession of a considerable fortune) have in increasing the cultivation and settlement of these lands upon the Misury and Mississippi; the similarity of religion, language, and customs between the old colonists and the new; the resentment of the latter against the Americans, who have not fulfilled any of the promises that they made to them; all these things promise us that the enormous immigration which thus far has flowed to the American territory of the north will be directed to the Spanish territory. And the latter will have this additional advantage, that those vast regions of Illinois, hitherto undefended and almost abandoned, on account of their distance at five hundred leagues from the capital, will be peopled with French royalists, who will maintain resentment against the Americans for their unfair proceedings, and will continue against the English of Canada that opposition and rivalry which is innate in the French nation—forming a considerable barrier against both nations, on the Misury as well as on the Misipi.²¹

As a result of Carondelet's policies here outlined a number of other French royalists were granted lands.

The principal one of these was Maison Rouge, a French marques, who offered to bring down from the banks of the Ohio thirty agri-

²¹Carondelet to Gardoqui, April 26, 1793; Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II, 376-377. and *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 520, 521, 660, 684, 714; III, 342.

culturists who were anxious to form a settlement on the Ouishita, where they hoped to raise wheat and to manufacture flour. A contract was entered into between Maison Rouge and the local authorities.³² In addition to the gift of land, the governor promised to pay to every family, consisting of at least two members, two hundred *pesos*, to those consisting of four laborers, four hundred *pesos*, etc., in proportion to the number of laborers. The immigrants were to be furnished provisions and a guide for the trip from New Madrid to Ouishita. The smallest amount of land to be granted was four hundred acres. One of the provisions of the contract required that the emigrants should be permitted to bring with them indentured European servants who, after the expiration of their term of service, should be entitled to a grant of land.³³

The project of inducing French royalists to migrate to Louisiana continued to be a favorite one with the Baron, and, with a view of promoting it, extensive grants of land were made. A grant was made to James Ceran Delassus de St. Vrain, who had lost his fortune during the French Revolution. He had been compelled to abandon his native country and seek refuge in Louisiana. Here he had earned the good will of Carondelet by assisting him to defeat the plans of Genet against the Spanish dominions on the Mississippi. Delassus's grant contained 10,000 square *arpents*, and he proposed to repay the government for this concession by discovering and working lead mines. He, therefore, did not obligate himself to make any settlements.³⁴

Julien Dubuc had already formed certain settlements on the frontier of the province on lands which he had purchased from the Indians. He had also discovered and worked several lead mines. Carondelet now rewarded him by a grant of six leagues of land on the west bank of the Mississippi.³⁵ The census reports available for this period show that a heavy French immigration took place, but no indication is found to show which of the colonizers named deserves the greatest credit for the movement.

³²Morales to the King, June 30, 1797, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-7-17, May 8, 1797-July 9, 1797.

³³See the Report of the Committee on Land Claims in Louisiana, *American State Papers, Public Lands*, IV, 52 and 431-434; V, 442-443.

³⁴Martin, *History of Louisiana*, 268.

³⁵*Ibid.*; see also *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, 675, and VIII, 387.

Indian Immigrants.—The immigration movement toward the Spanish Dominions was not confined to the whites. According to Moráles, Intendent of Louisiana, certain Indians in American territory, angered by the terms of the Jay Treaty, began to show their dislike for the United States even before any posts had been delivered or any steps taken to run the boundary line fixed by its terms. One hundred and seventy Cherokees applied to the commandant of New Madrid asking for lands; while the chief of the Alabamas in the name of three hundred and ninety-four of his tribe applied to the governor at New Orleans for a similar concession. He declared that practically his entire nation would follow. He testified that he did not wish to live close to the Americans or to be separated from his friends, the Spaniards, who had never harmed the Redman. In response to this appeal, the governor distributed a large number of presents among the petitioners and gave them permission to settle near Opelousas. Other nations also appeared at New Orleans and seemed inclined to follow the example of the Alibamus in case the Americans should offend them in any way. This disposition was not entirely to the liking of Moráles who did not desire to incur the expense connected with these frequent and prolonged visits. However, he consoled himself with the thought that should the Spaniards of Louisiana have any trouble with the Americans, they would find useful allies in these Redmen.³⁶

Dutch Colonizers, Bastrop and Fooey, 1797-1798.—The governor was anxious to secure as many friends as possible who could be depended upon to aid the Spaniards in case of trouble with the United States should arise. He, therefore, conceived the idea of attracting numbers of Germans and Dutch. First in importance among the Dutch who offered their services to the governor of Louisiana may be mentioned Baron de Bastrop. But before giving an account of his work, it will be well to mention one of his countrymen who was at this time interested in colonization.

Benjamin Fooey, a Spanish interpreter, was authorized in 1798 to form a Dutch or German settlement near Campo Esperanza, not far from Memphis in what is now Arkansas.³⁷ No informa-

³⁶Moráles to Ulloa, March 31, 1797, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 87-1-24, March 31, 1797.

³⁷Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Louisiana*, II, 114.

tion has been found to indicate that he took any steps to carry out this plan. But Bastrop made greater progress.

Philipe Enrique Neri, Baron de Bastrop, had fled from Holland in 1795 to escape the invading French army and had taken refuge in Louisiana. There he had taken the oath of allegiance and was offered by Governor Carondelet a grant as a reward for the establishment of a colony on the Ouishita river which should serve as a barrier against the Americans who had secured possession of Natchez and who were eager for the gold and silver mines in the Spanish territory, especially in the Ouchita region which lay next in their pathway. Carondelet favored the plan of giving lands to all settlers introduced into Lower Louisiana since, in spite of the fact that Upper Louisiana was being rapidly settled without special concessions, the climate of Lower Louisiana was such that attractive inducements were necessary to secure immigrants. He, therefore, felt justified in offering to pay the transportation expenses of such persons as Bastrop could manage to secure in the United States and to support them for six months after their arrival. Bastrop himself insisted that no large grants be made to immigrants for fear that negroes would be introduced and the cultivation of indigo be undertaken by other *empresarios* and his own plans for the cultivation of wheat in sufficient quantities to supply the flour mills he expected to erect be defeated. He wished also to export the flour thus manufactured after the necessities of the province had been supplied. Upon the receipt of a promise from Carondelet that these privileges would be granted and that he would receive twelve square leagues of land on the Ouchita, Baron de Bastrop departed for the United States in search of settlers.³⁸ But before he arrived again at New Orleans with ninety-nine persons whom he had persuaded to join him, Moses Austin, who had been an importer in Philadelphia, a shot and button manufacturer in Richmond, and a miner and a merchant at Austinville, Virginia, had decided to settle in Upper Louisiana.

American Colonization Contract, Austin, 1797.—In 1797, finding that his mines in Virginia were less productive than he had expected, and obtaining information from a man who had visited the lead mines in the vicinity of St. Genevieve and who gave a

³⁸Morales to Bastrop, June 16, 1797, A. G. I., Sto. Dom. La. and Fla., 86-7-12, May 8, 1797-July 7, 1799.

favorable report of prospects there, he resolved to visit the region.³⁹ The following interesting description of his journey to Louisiana and the success of his mission is furnished by Schoolcraft:

Here [at Austinville] he formed a design of migrating into upper Louisiana,—a county which he foresaw must at no remote period, fall within the limits of the United States, and which presented to his sanguine imagination the most flattering prospective as well as immediate advantages. He began his first journey to this country in the autumn of 1797⁴⁰ being then in his thirty-first year, and performing the entire journey on horseback, reached St. Louis the succeeding winter. This was an arduous and hazardous journey, and at that early period, before the vast country west of the Ohio had been opened to emigration, was looked upon as an extraordinary feat of hardihood. Indian hostility, though ostensibly terminated by the treaty of Greenville a few years before, was still to be dreaded, and an unprotected traveler passing through the Indian territories ran an imminent risk both of property and life. . . .

The little intercourse subsisting between Louisiana and the American States, partly owing to a dread of Republican principles, from which it has ever been a leading point, in the policy of Spain, to defend her trans-Atlantic colonies, precluded Mr. Austin almost wholly from the customary advantage of introductory letters; and, indeed, he placed his chief reliance for success upon his own personal address,—a qualification which he possessed in no ordinary degree. He knew the weakness of the Spanish character, and resolved to profit by this. I have it from his own lips, that when he came near St. Louis, where the commandant, who was generally called Governor resided; he thought it necessary to enter the town with as large a retinue, and as much parade as possible. He led the way himself, on the best horse he could muster clothed in a long blue mantel, lined with scarlet and embroidered with lace, and rode through the principal streets, where the governor resided, followed by his servants, guides and others. So extraordinary a cavalcade in a place so little frequented by strangers, and at such a season of the year, could not fail, as he had supposed, to attract the particular attention of the local authorities, and the Governor sent an orderly to enquire his character and rank. Being answered, he soon returned with an invitation for himself and suite to take up their residence at his house, observing, at the same time, in the most polite manner, and with characteristic deference to the rank of his guests, that there was

³⁹Wooten, editor, *A Comprehensive History of Texas, 1688 to 1897*, I, 440-441.

⁴⁰Should be December, 1796.

no other house in town that could afford him suitable accommodations during his stay. The favorable impression created by his entree which Mr. Austin, in after life, related to his friends with inimitable glee, led on to his ultimate success. He was recommended to the authorities at St. Genevieve, where it seems that the Indians of the upper province then resided, who approved his design to settle in the country—ordered an escort of soldiers, under command of a national officer to attend him on his visit to the mines—and forwarded his petition for a grant of land to the Governor-General at New Orleans, accompanied with the strongest recommendations this petition was drawn up by the government secretary, to whom Mr. Austin had not, however, intimated the quantity to be asked for, and he once observed to me, that it gave him some surprise on reading it, to find that *twelve leagues square* had been demanded. One twelfth of this quantity was granted *en franc alien*, the crown reserving no other right or dues but those of fealty and liege homage; but it was stipulated on the part of Mr. Austin in an agreement with the intendent, to introduce certain improvements in the process of mining, together with some connected branches of manufacture, which were accordingly introduced.⁴¹

On January 27, 1797, François Valle, Commandant of St. Genevieve, engaged to grant lands to Austin and to thirty families of agriculturists and artisans whom Austin planned to induce to join him in establishing a new settlement. The newcomers were to be given lands in proportion to the size of their families, their means, and their ability to aid in the development of the country. In addition, they were promised the privilege of locating wherever they might choose.⁴² Whether or not any of these families save a small number of Austin's relatives and friends ever settled cannot be determined from the records at hand, but on March 15th of the same year Carondelet granted to Austin a league of land embracing the lead mines at "Mine A Burton."⁴³ In July, 1797, Austin applied for a passport to Martínez de Yrujo, who had replaced Gardoquí as minister from Spain to the United States, and, after considerable difficulty, he managed to secure the desired document. Armed with this, he removed his family from Virginia to the new grant, reaching there in September.⁴⁴ Before

⁴¹Schoolcraft, *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley*, 241, 243.

⁴²Affidavit by Valle. Austin Papers.

⁴³*American State Papers, Public Lands*, III, 671.

⁴⁴Wooten, *A Comprehensive History of Texas, 1685 to 1897*, I, 440-441.

his arrival, however, the feeling against the English and the Americans who were hostile to Spain's ally, France, had become very strong, and it will be necessary to trace its effect upon Bastrop's colony, and then upon the general history of colonization into Louisiana.

Suspension of Bastrop's Contract.—On June 20, 1797, Governor Carondelet had entered into a formal contract with Bastrop for the introduction of families, but he was soon replaced by Manuel Gayoso. The situation was immediately changed; for the new governor objected strenuously to the introduction of Protestants and suspected that, in defiance of the stipulations of his contract, Bastrop was introducing English and Americans whose fidelity to the Catholic religion and the Spanish king were merely feigned. The contract did not meet with the approval of the intendant of the province. He objected, in the first place, because it provided for the expenditure of a considerable sum from the depleted treasury for the transportation of these families from New Madrid to the new settlement and for their maintenance for some time after their location; and principally he said, "although it was to the advantage to increase the population of Ouchita, it would never be to the advantage to increase the number of English and Americans, and other Protestants, imbued, perhaps, with the maxims of liberty which had caused so much revolution, and to place them even nearer Mexico."⁴⁵ As a result, the governor ordered the suspension of Bastrop's contract until the matter could be passed upon by the king. This amounted to a nullification; for Bastrop was never able to secure favorable action, in spite of the fact that he promised to secure his families direct from Europe and to receive none who might have been "contaminated" by even the briefest residence in the United States. Indeed, when considering Bastrop's claims, especially in regard to the sale of a portion of the lands in question to Moorehouse, the king forbade the granting of any more lands in Louisiana to Americans.⁴⁶ This feeling against the Americans—or rather against all foreigners—had already been embodied in the laws of Louisiana as the following in-

See *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, 678; III, 682, 683, and VIII, 850.

⁴⁵Morales to King, June 30, 1797, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-7-17, June 20, 1796-July 9, 1799.

⁴⁶Undated petition of Bastrop (1799?), A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-7-17.

structions of the governor to the commandants of posts will indicate:

1. [Commandants] are forbidden to grant lands to a new settler, coming from another post, where he has obtained a grant. Such a one must buy land, or obtain a grant from the governor.

2. If a settler be a foreigner, unmarried and without either slaves, money, or other property, no grant is to be made him until he shall have remained four years in the post, demeaning himself well in some honest and useful occupation.

3. Mechanics are to be protected, but no land is to be granted to them until they shall have acquired some property, and a residence of three years in the exercise of their trade.

4. No grant of land is to be made to any unmarried emigrant who has neither trade nor property, until after a residence of four years, during which time he must have been employed in the culture of ground.

5. But, if after a residence of two years such a person should marry the daughter of an honest farmer, with his consent and be by him recommended, a grant of land may be made to him.

6. Liberty of conscious is not to be extended beyond the first generation: the children of emigrants must be Catholics; and emigrants not agreeing to this must not be admitted, but removed, even when they bring property with them. This is to be explained to settlers who do not profess the Catholic religion.

7. In Upper Louisiana, no settler is to be admitted who is not a farmer or mechanic.

8. It is expressly recommended to commandants to watch that no preacher of any religion but the Catholic comes into the province.

9. To every married immigrant of the above description, two hundred *arpents* may be granted, with the addition of fifty for every child he brings.

10. If he brings negroes, twenty additional *arpents* are to be granted him for each; but in no case are more than eight hundred *arpents* to be granted to an emigrant.

11. No land is to be granted to a trader.

12. Immediately on the arrival of a settler, the oath of allegiance is to be administered to him if he has a wife, proof is to be demanded of their marriage; and if they bring any property, they are to be required to declare what part belongs to either of them; and they are to be informed that the discovery of any wilful falsehood in this declaration will incur the forfeiture of the land granted them, and the improvements made thereon.

13. Without proof of a lawful marriage, or of absolute ownership of negroes, no grant is to be made for any wife or negroes.

14. The grant is to be forfeited, if a settlement be not made

within the year, or one-tenth part of the land put in cultivation within two.

15. No grantee is to be allowed to sell his land until he has produced three crops on a tenth part of it, but in case of death it may pass to an heir in the province, but not to one without, unless he come and settle it.

16. If the grantee owes debts in the province the proceeds of the first four crops are to be applied to their discharge, in preference to that of debts due abroad. If, before the third crop is made, it becomes necessary to evict the grantee on account of his bad conduct, the land shall be given to the young man and woman residing within one mile of it, whose good conduct may show them to be the most deserving of it; and the decision is to be made by an assembly of notable planters, presided by the commandant.

17. Emigrants are to settle contiguous to old establishments, without leaving any vacant land—that the people may then more easily protect each other, in case of an invasion by the Indians; and that the administration of justice, and a compliance with police regulations, may be facilitated.⁴⁷

Several points here set forth deserve especial attention. The old antipathy against foreign traders is shown and the religious tolerance previously granted Protestants was practically withdrawn. Such mechanics and agriculturists as were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the Spanish government were still to be subjected to several years probation before lands could be granted them, while possession of property and the duty of actual settlement and cultivation of lands was made obligatory.⁴⁸

Eleventh Hour Plans.—Immigration into Louisiana was not completely checked by the hostility evinced against the Americans. At the court, projects for settling the province were still favorably received. For instance, in July, 1799, a favorable decision was rendered upon the petition of the Spanish minister at Philadelphia.⁴⁹ However, no evidence has been found that the petitioner took any steps to introduce families.

The local authorities may also have granted lands to certain

⁴⁷Martin, *History of Louisiana*, 276-277. In October of this same year the intendant was charged with the entire responsibility of granting lands in Louisiana and thereupon, issued regulations governing titles to same, *American State Papers, Public Lands*, III, 488-496.

⁴⁸—— to Urquijo, July 9, 1799, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-7-17, May 8, 1797-July 9, 1797.

⁴⁹—— to Urquijo, July 9, 1799, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-17, July 20, 1797-July 9, 1799.

Americans who, like Daniel Boone, manifested a strong feeling against their native country. According to Violette, Boone was granted 10,000 acres by DeLassus in return for bringing into Upper Louisiana one hundred and fifty families from Virginia and Kentucky, but through failure to secure the necessary legal documents, he was never able to obtain confirmation of his grant.⁵⁰ However, the only record of his grant found recites that, on December 26, 1799, he was promised 1000 *arpents* by Trudeau.⁵¹ In this no mention of the families to be brought in is made.

From the records, it is clear that many Americans located in Louisiana prior to its sale to the United States; but no definite figures can be given, as the census reports are fragmentary. However, Viles, who made a careful study of the population of Missouri before 1804, estimates that the increase of white population at New Madrid after 1797 was considerable; that St. Genevieve grew steadily between 1795 and 1800; that Cape Girardeau increased in a fairly constant ratio between 1799 and 1803—fully 200 per year; and that St. Louis added to her population practically 100 persons each year between 1796 and 1800. From actual statistics it is known that by 1800 the population of Upper Louisiana amounted to 4949 and that Lower Louisiana, too, in spite of its unfavorable climate, had increased from 12,500 in 1769 to approximately 27,000 in 1798, when the tide of immigration had reached its height. All authorities agree that this unquestionably represented, for the most part, an immigration of Americans.⁵²

We are now in a position to follow the development of the colonization movement from Louisiana to Texas.

⁵⁰*History of Missouri*, 64.

⁵¹*American State Papers, Public Lands*, III, 332.

⁵²Viles, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804," in *Missouri Historical Review*, V, 197, 199, 204, and 207; Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II, 414; and Martin, *History of Louisiana*, 206, 240, and 300.